

Message Text

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ACTION EA-10

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FM USLO PEKING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8509
USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PEKING 1826

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT CH
SUBJECT: NEW POLITBURO OF CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY; FIRST IMPRESSIONS

REF: PEKING 1823

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. ALTHOUGH SEVERAL PUTATIVE OPPONENTS OF
TENG HSIAO-PING MANAGED TO PRESERVE THEIR SEATS ON THE NEW
POLITBURO, THE OVERALL BIAS OF THE BODY SEEMS OVERWHELMINGLY
PRO-TENG. THE PROFESSIONAL MILITARY, VETERAN BUREAUCRATS,
AND THE AGED DOMINATE THE POLITBURO. VICE PREMIER LI HSIEN-NIEN
AND LONG-TIME SECURITY BOSS WANG TUNG-HSING WERE ELEVATED
TO THE RANK OF PARTY VICE CHAIRMEN AND MEMBERS OF THE CCP
STANDING COMMITTEE (JOINING CHAIRMAN HUA KUO-FENG, YEH
CHIEN-YING, AND TENG HSIAO-PING AS THE KEY DECISIONMAKERS).
OF THE 23 FULL POLITBURO MEMBERS AND 3 ALTERNATE (OR CANDIDATE)
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MEMBER, TEN ARE NEWCOMERS. THE ONLY POLITBURO CASUALTY
WAS ALTERNATE MEMBER WU KUEI-HSIEN, WIDELY SUSPECTED OF
PRO-GANG OF FOUR TENDENCIES. BUT EVEN WU WAS ALLOWED TO
KEEP HER SEAT ON THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, PRESUMABLY A TOKEN
OF GOOD FAITH BY THE TRIUMPHANT TENG FORCES TO THEIR
OPPONENTS. MINISTER OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN
COUNTRIES CHEN MU-HUA REPLACED WU AS THE ONLY WOMAN AMONG

POLITBURO MEMBERS AND ALTERNATES. YOUTH WAS VIRTUALLY SHUT OUT OF THE NEW LINEUP, WITH ONLY FORTYISH NI CHIH-FU GAINING FULL POLITBURO STATUS AMONG AN ASSEMBLAGE OF MEN IN THEIR FIFTIES, SIXTIES, SEVENTIES, AND EVEN EIGHTIES. WHILE THE TENG CAST OF THE NEW PARTY LEADERSHIP IS MANIFEST, IT DOES NOT PROVIDE US ANY CLUES AS TO THE IDENTITY OF OFFICIALS LIKELY TO MEET WITH SECRETARY VANCE OR TO THE POSITION THAT THEY ARE LIKELY TO TAKE. MEANWHILE, STREET DEMONSTRATIONS ARE CONTINUING IN TIEN AN MEN SQUARE AND CHINESE OFFICIALS HAVE CONFIRMED THAT THEY WILL STILL BE GOING ON AFTER SECRETARY VANCE'S ARRIVAL. END SUMMARY

2. PEKING RADIO ANNOUNCED EARLY ON AUGUST 21 THE NAMELIST OF PARTY VICE CHAIRMEN, PARTY STANDING COMMITTEE MEMBERS, AND POLITUBURO MEMBERS AND ALTERNATES:

CHAIRMAN: HUA KUO-FENG

VICE CHAIRMEN: YEH CHIEN-YING, TENG HSIAO-PING, LI HSIEN-NIEN, AND WANG TUNG-HSING.

HUA AND THE FOUR PARTY VICE CHAIRMEN WILL SERVE AS THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE (THE BODY WHICH RUNS CHINA ON A DAILY BASIS IN THE ABSENCE OF FORMAL POLITBURO SESSIONS). PEKING RADIO LISTED THE POLITBURO MEMBERS BENEATH CHAIRMAN HUA IN STROKE (I.E. CHINESE ALPHABETICAL) ORDER, THUS GIVING NO HINT AS TO THE RISE AND FALL IN INDIVIDUAL FORTUNES. FOLLOWING HUA WERE: WEI KUO-CHING, ULANFU, FANG YI, TENG HSIAO-PING, CONFIDENTIAL

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YEH CHIEN-YING, LIU PO-CHENG, HSU SHIH-YU, CHI TENG-KUEI, SU CHEN-HUA, LI HSIEN-NIEN, LI TE-SHENG, WU TE, YU CHIU-LI, WANG TUNG-HSING, CHANG TING-FA, CHEN YUNG-KUEI, CHEN HSI-LIEN, KENG PIAO, NIEH JUNG-CHEN, NI CHIH-FU, HSU HSIANG-CHIEH, AND PENG CHUNG. POLITBURO ALTERNATES ARE: CHEN MU-HUA, CHAO TZU-YANG, AND SAIFUDIN.

3. THE COALITION OF PROFESSIONAL MILITARY, VETERAN BUREAUCRATE, AND THE AGED DOMINATE THE NEW POLITBURO. THESE LEADERS WERE IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE STRUGGLE TO REHABILITATE TENG AND THEIR PRESENCE ON THE POLITBURO FURTHER STRENGTHENS HIS HAND. THE CENTER OF GRAVITY DEMONSTRABLY BELONGS TO SUCH OLD TENG ASSOCIATES AND ALLIES AS YEH CHIEN-YING, LI HSIEN-NIEN, HSU SHIH-YU, WEI KUO-CHING, YU CHIU-LI, NIEH JUNG-CHEN, HSU HSIANG-CHIEH, PENG CHUNG, AND CHAO TZU-YANG.

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CINCPAC CP HNSMITH HAWAII

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 PEKING 1826

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4. BY CONTRAST, CHAIRMAN HUA DOES NOT SEEM TO HAVE HAD MUCH OF A HAND IN SELECTION OF THE NEW LEADERSHIP. DESPITE SPECULATION THAT HUA PROTEGE AND FORMER NUMBER TWO IN HUNAN CHANG PING-HUA WAS DESTINED FOR A POLITBURO SEAT, THIS DID NOT COME TO PASS.

5. THE DEAL ON TENG'S COMEBACK, WIDELY SAID TO HAVE BEEN MEDIATED AND NEGOTIATED BY PARTY ELDER AND SENIOR MILITARY FIGURE YEH CHIEN-YING, SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN RESPECTED. POLITBURO FIGURES MOST CLOSELY IDENTIFIED -- AT LEAST IN THE PUBLIC MIND -- WITH STRONG OPPOSITION TO TENG'S RETURN SURVIVED WITH BUT A SINGLE EXCEPTION. POLITBURO ALTERNATE WU KUEI-HSIEN, A ONCE-MODEL WORKER SUSPECTED OF HARBORING PRO-GANG OF FOUR TENDENCIES, WAS DROPPED FROM HER POLITBURO SEAT BUT PERMITTED TO RETAIN A SEAT ON THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE -- PRESUMABLY A TOKEN OF GOOD FAITH FROM
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THE TRIUMPHANT TENG FORCES TO THOSE WITH WHOM THEY HAD STRUCK THE DEAL.

6. THE ELEVATION OF LONGTIME SECURITY BOSS WANG TUNG-HSING,

FORESHADOWED IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE CONGRESS PRESIDUM (REFTEL), TO STATUS ALMOST COEQUAL WITH THAT OF YEH, TENG, AND LI HSIEN-NIEN IS RATHER SURPRISING. WANG HAD SPEARHEADED OPPOSITION TO TENG'S RETURN AND HAS BEEN A SHADOWY FIGURE WITH UNDEFINED RESPONSIBILITIES THROUGHOUT HIS CAREER. HIS ELEVATION MAY WELL BE THE WORK OF HUA KUO-FENG, WITH WHOM WANG BEGAN TO APPEAR IN PUBLIC BEGINNING LAST SPRING.

7. YOUTH IS NOT TO HAVE ITS DAY WITH NEW LEADERSHIP -- THAT MESSAGE IS GLARINGLY APPARENT. AMONG A GROUP OF MEN LARGELY IN THEIR SIXTIES AND SEVENTIES, ONLY FORTYISH NI CHIH-FU, CONCURRENTLY SECOND SECRETARY OF SHANGHAI AND PEKING, CAN BE SAID TO REPRESENT YOUTH. AND CHEN MU-HUA, THE ALTERNATE POLITBURO MEMBER TAKING WU KUEI-HSIEN'S SEAT, IS THE ONLY WOMAN.

8. THE MILITARY'S CLOUT IS ENORMOUS, REFLECTING ITS DOMINANT ROLE IN THE REGIME SINCE THE ARREST OF THE GANG OF FOUR. NINE OF THE POLITBURO MEMBERS ARE PROFESSIONAL MILITARY MEN; THIS FIGURE INCLUDES NEWCOMERS CHANG TING-FA, THE AIR FORCE COMMANDER, NIEH JUNG-CHEN AND HSU HSIANG-CHIEN, BOTH ELDERLY VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S MILITARY COMMISSION.

9. OTHER SIGNIFICANT NEWCOMERS TO THE POLITBURO INCLUDE ULANFU, RESPONSIBLE FOR UNITED FRONT WORK; FANG68, THE DE FACTO HEAD OF THE CHINESE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES; KENG PAIO, CHIEF OF LIAISON WITH FOREIGN COMMUNIST PARTIES; ECONOMIC CONFIDENTIAL

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PLANNER AND LONG-TIME CHOU EN-LAI ASSOCIATE YU CHIU-LI; AND PENG CHUNG, THIRD SECRETARY AND DAY-TO-DAY BOSS IN SHANGHAI.

10. WHILE THE TENG HSIAO-PING CAST OF THE NEW PARTY

LEADERSHIP IS MANIFEST (ONE CHINESE WAS TOLD BY A RELATIVE THAT THE NEW POLITBURO MEANS THAT THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION IS TRULY OVER FOREVER), IT DOES NOT PROVIDE US ANY CLUES AS TO THE IDENTITY OF OFFICIALS LIKELY TO MEET WITH SECRETARY VANCE OR TO THE POSITION THAT THEY ARE LIKELY TO TAKE IN TALKS.

11. STREET CELEBRATIONS IN PEKING'S TIEN AN MEN SQUARE AREA CONTINUE WITH MILLIONS OF PARTICIPANTS. INFORMATION DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS HAVE CONFIRMED THAT THE FESTIVITIES WILL CONTINUE AFTER SECRETARY VANCE'S ARRIVAL ON MONDAY. WOODCOCK

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